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THE INDEPENDENT TREASURY BILL.

Speech of Mr. Benton,
OF MISSOURI.

IN SENATE, WEDNESDAY, March 14, 1838.

ON THE BILL TO SEPARATE THE GOVERNMENT FROM THE BANKS.

[CONCLUDED.]

Mr. B. would examine some of the objections to the proposed bill. The able speeches which had been delivered by the numerous friends of the measure abridged his labor in this respect, and he should confine himself to brief notices of a few of the principal points.

At the head of these objections stands the imposing assumption that the passage of the bill will inflict a severe wound upon the State banks, and entirely disable them to resume specie payments. This assertion is made by the whole body of the speakers on the opposite side; but they deal in assertion only. No explanation is given to justify it, and to show how it is that an array of eight hundred banks is to be thus mysteriously and powerfully affected. The amendment of the Senator from Virginia [Mr. Rives] only proposes to distribute the deposits among twenty-five banks, so that seven hundred and seventy-five remain would be left unprovided for, and consequently, subject to ruin under that plan. But there is a readier answer to this objection. The bill only proposes to remit these banks to the condition they were under the dominion of the Bank of the United States. They were then in a complete state of divorce from the Federal Government, having no share in the privilege of paying the Federal revenue with their notes. They were contented with their notes. They were contented with that condition, and affirm that they flourished under it, and such of them as wish for the establishment of a National Bank, are still in favor of that condition and of being divorced from the Government. The only difference is that they will submit to a divorce imposed by the laws of a Federal Bank, but will resist it coming from Congress. This answer is enough to explode the objection. It not only puts an end to it, but makes it ridiculous. No further answer is necessary to be given; but a further answer is at hand, and will be given. It comes from an authoritative source. The report of the committee of the banks of N. York, on the resumption of specie payments, made on the 28th of February last, and approved in a general meeting of the banks of the city, holds the following language:

"In contemplation of the resumption of specie payments by the banks of the city of New York, on or before the tenth of May next, and under the uncertain contingency of a simultaneous or early resumption by the banks of some of the other great commercial cities, it is incumbent on those of New York to adopt all the measures within the limits of their resources, which may enable them not only to resume, but also to maintain specie payments."

"The fall in the rate of foreign exchange, now considerably below par in our city paper, renders it absolutely certain, that no exportations of specie can take place, and more than probable that a considerable influx may be expected. This fact now indisputable, must have an effect on public opinion, and ought to remove the apprehensions of those who may have believed our efforts for an early resumption premature. Secure, as all the banks in the United States are, against foreign demands, we are justified in expecting their co-operation. If this is obtained, we do not perceive any obstacle to an early, easy, and safe resumption of specie payments."

"A continued suspension, on the part of some of the other great commercial cities, can alone render the resumption on our part difficult, and may prevent a free application of the legitimate resources of New York. Yet, such is the favorable relative state of the balances between this and the other parts of the Union, that, in the present, at least, but little need be apprehended from the effect of natural causes. Of deliberate acts of hostilities, as there could be no motive for such, there should be no apprehension on our part. We trust that, supported by the community of this city, and by the State, the banks will be able to surmount all obstacles, and, on or before the tenth of May to resume and maintain specie payments."

From this authentic report, it is seen that the banks of the city of New York have determined to resume specie payments on or before the 10th day of May next; that they ask nothing but the co-operation, or forbearance, of other banks, and are afraid of nothing but the well-merited hostility of some non-resuming banks in other cities, that is to say, Mr. Biddle's bank in Philadelphia. This is the language of the banks in New York. They ask nothing, and they fear nothing, from the Federal Government. They fear nothing from the Sub-Treasury bill. They declare their only danger to be in the conduct of the non-resuming banks of some neighboring cities. Now, which is entitled to most credit in this contradiction of opinion, the New York banks, or the politicians on this floor? Certainly it is a case in which the opinion of the banks must prevail. They know their own condition; they know the condition of others; they have the work of resumption to perform; and they say that can perform it. If they can, all other banks must be able to do it likewise, or must have imposed falsehoods upon the coun-

try when they stopped payment last May; for all then declared that they did not stop from their own weakness, but from the example of New York; and that they would be ready to resume whenever her banks did. This was the language of all, and of none more publicly and positively than that of Mr. Biddle's bank. The banks, then, upon their own showing, are all able to resume, and it is not for politicians who cannot be admitted to know the condition of the banks as well as the banks do themselves, and who have their own political objects to accomplish by prolonging the suspension—it is not for them to discover excuses for the future failure of the banks in the acts of a Government, the whole of whose acts are, in their eyes, full of folly and ruin. Even if these politicians stood before the country as sound judges, their judgment could not come in competition with the opinion of the banks. But they do not so stand. They do not stand as sound judges, but as frail and fallible partisans, whose habit of ruin from every act of the Government—whose thousand and one mistakes heretofore committed—whose burning desire to get into power by destroying the credit of those in power—must reduce them to the condition of permanent prophets of woe, depicting destruction, as a matter of course, from every thing which their adversaries do.

The establishment of a Treasury bank is the next great objection to the bill. It is declared to be a Treasury bank; and then a frightful picture of the evils of such a bank is drawn by each speaker, and held up to terrify the people. I thank them for this objection; it kills off four others which this party have made against this Administration, and on each of which they have insisted with all the vehemence with which they now urge this one. It kills off all the whole charge of intending to establish a National Bank in New York; the whole charge of intending to impose the safety fund system upon the whole Union; the whole charge of intending to govern the country, by a corrupt league of pet banks; and the whole charge of intending to impose an exclusively metallic currency upon the country. The establishment of a Treasury bank is inconsistent with these four charges, and being the last charge, it kills off the others. In this, it does us good service. It shows what stuff the gentlemen's charges are made of. It kills off four of their most serious charges, at a blow; and now we will kill it off, and so finish five together. This can be done with two words; in the first place, there is not one feature of a Treasury bank in the bill; in the second place, I pledge myself to vote to eradicate it, if gentlemen can show me a single feature.

Sensible that there is nothing in the bill to justify the objection, gentlemen fly off to suppositions, and charge a future design to erect a Treasury bank upon the foundation of an Independent Treasury, and to furnish the Government with boundless supplies of money, by the issue of exchequer bills in the shape of Treasury notes. To these imaginations of the gentlemen, I can only oppose positive denial, and wait for time to perform its office upon this accusation as it has done upon all that they have said for eight or nine years past. For one, I shall never vote for such a bank, nor for another issue of Treasury notes.

A third objection is to the insecurity of the public moneys in the hands of the Government agents. Gentlemen suppose that the moneys will be much safer in the keeping of the banks, than in the custody of the officers appointed by the Government to keep them. This is an objection which both reason and experience rejects. Reason teaches us that a number of men acting together, will do that which each one of them, individually, would scorn to do. Thus, a board of bank directors would do an act which each member of the board, in his own individual case, would scorn to do. Take the case of the thirty millions of public deposits in the hands of the banks in May last. They were in the custody of boards of directors; and, as boards, the directors acted in refusing the resumption of these deposits to the Treasurer of the United States, and to the disbursing officers in whose names they stood. But suppose these thirty millions had been deposited with the members of the same boards in their individual capacities, their personal honor, to say nothing of their bonds and securities bound for the resumption—they would have restored the amount to the last dollar, and felt the deepest humiliation at the slightest delinquency. Such would have been their conduct. An individual is a safer depository than a board; and far better would it be to confide the public deposits to the whole single director of a bank, than to the whole together as a corporation. A corporation has no soul and no conscience; an individual director has both; and these, with his bonds and securities, would be the highest pledge for his fidelity. This is what reason teaches us. Now for experience. We have Treasurers of the United States, and but one Treasurer at a time. These Treasurers have passed through their hands, counting from the foundation of the Government, about eight hundred millions of dollars. Has any part of these eight hundred millions been lost in their hands? No; not one cent! Again we have Treasurers of the Mint, one at a time. These Treasurers have had the actual keeping, counting, and

paying out, of seventy-three millions of dollars in gold and silver. Has one piece of it been lost in their hands? No; not one! Under the bill before us, the moneys are to be made depositories of the public moneys. Experience shows them to be safe places; their peculiar occupation makes them proper places; and I wish we had three or four more of them, and then all the public moneys might be deposited in them.

But gentlemen, in support of their objection, made an assertion, and started an inquiry which has ended in the total overthrow of their position. They ventured upon a question of fact—a question of figures and records—a question to be answered by documentary evidence. It was as to the comparative amount of past losses; whether the Government had lost most by using banks, or by trusting to their own fiscal agents; and in this inquiry gentlemen were held in their affirmation that the comparison was to the disadvantage of the Government agents, and entirely in favor of the banks. How unfortunate for their argument this attempt to do honor to the banks! It has led to official inquiries at the Treasury Department, and here is the answer. It is a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury dated February 28th, of the present year:

"In answer to the first inquiry, as to the amount of balances against all banks which have been used as public depositories that is not secured, or will probably be lost, adding thereto the estimated loss that has occurred by taking on public account depreciated bank notes, I would observe, that it is computed that these balances so lost will be about \$1,000,000, and the loss by taking such notes about \$5,500,000; making, in the aggregate, \$6,500,000. This is without the addition of any interest, as are the subsequent statements. If interest was cast on the above sums, the aggregate would exceed \$18,000,000. "Of the data on which this computation rests are, that the nominal balances against banks that have been public depositories, and in default, are now, though excluding what stands to the credit of disbursing officers, about \$7,000,000. Of this sum near \$1,076,000 stands against old bank depositories, and the residue against recent ones. The loss to the Treasury by taking depreciated notes in 1834, '35, '36, and '37, is estimated at quite \$5,500,000; and there is now on hand of such notes, then received, and never paid away or collected, about \$38,000 more, as is more fully detailed in a report to the Senate from this Department, made the last inst. These constitute an aggregate \$12,426,000."

To these losses from local banks is to be added the sum of \$233,422, for the principal and interest of dividend due from the Bank of the United States, and withheld on a pretext of claim for damages on the protested bill of exchange on the French Government. The answer to the second branch of the inquiry stands thus:

"In answer to the second inquiry, as to the amount of balances against all kinds of collecting officers, which has not been secured and will probably be lost, I have, after careful examination, computed that it will not exceed from \$900,000 to \$1,200,000. From the long period covered by these balances, and by their great number, it must be obvious that the amount which has been wholly lost cannot, in many cases, be ascertained with accuracy. "Of the data for this estimate are as follows: The nominal amount of such balances is about \$2,600,000. Schedules of most of them late as October, 1837, with certain explanations, may be seen in a report to the House of Representatives, made by the Department last inst. and another, with more detailed explanations, is now preparing in conformity to a resolution of the Senate, passed the 15th inst. From the whole amount there should first be deducted a sum of \$1,000,000, which is the amount which has been secured or paid. This leaves from \$1,600,000 to \$1,600,000. "Of the nominal balances, a further sum, equal to near \$300,000, has never been put in it, and in most cases, this is believed to have arisen from a knowledge that nothing would appear to be due when the vouchers were all offered, and the allowances made were considered legal."

Thus stands the comparison between the banks and the collectors and disbursing agents; and the difference is more than five to one in favor of the collectors and these agents. In both instances, the comparison goes back to the foundation of the Government, and it is to be observed that the losses among the collectors almost entirely accrued under the old system, before the four years' law took effect—that law which brings the accounts of every moneyed agent to a close every fourth year. This law, with other regulations at the Departments have nearly put an end to losses by collectors. In the War Department, in the disbursement of one hundred millions in the last fifteen years there has not been the loss of a dollar. The other Departments have also been greatly improved. If the comparison had been confined to the last fifteen years, since the new law and the new regulations have been in force, it would have resulted still more to the discredit of the banks and to the honor of the Government agents. But it is not by the losses appearing on the Treasury books that this great question is to be answered. Those books only show the direct losses to the Government from the use of bank paper and banks as depositories; the indirect losses to the Government, and the losses to its creditors and to the whole community from the use of depreciated paper, must also be taken into the account; and then the mischiefs from the use of the banks and their paper money appear in their enormous, incalculable, and appalling amount. Gentlemen of the Opposition have recurred with great commendation to the report of a committee to the House of Representatives of which Mr. McDuffie was chairman some seven or eight years ago, to show the evils of a Treasury bank—that phantom of which there is no existence any where but in their own imaginations. They produce his report with every commendation; of course they cannot object to its authority; and here is a paragraph taken from it which should begin to open their eyes, or the eyes of the country, to the magnitude of the losses from Government reliance on local banks and their paper money.

"The Government borrowed, during the short period of the war, eighty millions of dollars, at an average discount of fifteen per cent, giving certificates of stock, amounting to eighty millions of dollars, in exchange for sixty-eight millions in such

bank paper as could be obtained. Upon the very face of the transaction, therefore, there was a loss of twelve millions of dollars, which would, in all probability, have been saved, if the Treasury had been aided by such an institution as the bank of the United States. But the sum of sixty-eight millions of dollars received by the Government was in a depreciated currency, not more than half as valuable as that in which the stock given in exchange for it, has been, and will be redeemed. Here then is another loss of thirty-four millions resulting continually and exclusively from the depreciation of the currency, and making, with the sum lost by the discount, sixty-six millions of dollars."

Mr. McDuffie says, truly, in his report that this loss of forty-six millions was only one item in the catalogue of losses—that the loss to the community, and to the Government creditors, from using depreciated paper was beyond calculation. His remedy for these losses was a National Bank; mine is an adequate supply of gold and silver, and especially of gold; and if it is asked how much gold will be sufficient, I answer, that so far as the currency of a National Bank is concerned, twenty odd millions would be enough; for that is the maximum amount of currency that she ever furnished. A supply then of twenty odd millions of gold would meet all objections arising from the withdrawal of her currency, and that amount will be in the country before the present term of Mr. Van Buren's Administration expires, and double that amount in seven or eight years.

The loss to Government creditors was incredible from the use of depreciated paper during the late war. Even the Treasury notes were depreciated, in some parts, at low as 33 1-3 per cent. The loss to creditors from the use of bank notes, since may last, has also been great. The public moneys in the hands of the depository banks were then 30 millions; the Government has been paying it out ever since, to the great profit of the banks, to the immense discredit of the Government itself, and to the heavy loss of many of its creditors.

But the money test cannot complete the comparison between the two classes of agents. Other considerations of great weight, and some of still graver character, belong to the subject. First, in point of amenability. The Government officers are amenable to the Government, subject to its laws and its orders; liable to summary proceedings for default, and to be pursued by execution wherever they go, and responsible in person and in property, themselves and all their securities for all that is owing by them. Not so with the Banks. They are the creations of the State Government, subject to State laws, and having great influence over the enactment of State laws which concern themselves. The States may protect them, and have protected them, against the Federal demands. They have passed acts to prevent the recovery of damages which the charters had fixed; and to prevent execution against the banks themselves, unless the creditors would consent to receive his debt in current bank notes. This is what has been done; it is what is now done; and here is the evidence of it.

Mr. B. then exhibited a document, obtained from the Department of State, containing the acts passed by the legislatures of different States since the suspension of specie payments in May last. They were passed in States where there were depository banks, then holding about thirty millions of public money, standing in the name of the Treasurer of the United States, or in the names of disbursing officers. These acts, in some instances, reduced the damages which depositors and holders of notes were entitled to recover; and, in some instances, denied execution against the bank, unless the creditor would endorse upon it that current notes should be receivable. Mr. B. said he had seen no instance in which these acts made any exception in favor of the United States; and he read the titles of several of the acts, and the names of the States in which they were passed, and referred to the Senators, from those States to say whether there were any exception. No Senator answering in the affirmative, Mr. B. resumed, and said that there was an insurmountable objection to the future employment of State banks as public depositories, or to the reception of their notes in the payment of the Federal revenue. The States had interposed between the Federal Government and the holders of its moneys. They might interpose again and forever. By so doing, they injured the U. States, and laid a ground for complaint and collision with the State Governments. Every consideration of harmony and mutual independence should forbid the possibility of such occurrences for the future.

Again: The deposit banks, whether a National Bank or catalogue of State banks, were the friends of high taxes and low appropriations. They went for surpluses, for the accommodation of themselves and a few of their friends. They went for taxing the nation to the utmost, and stinting appropriations to the minimum, that enormous surpluses should remain in their hands for loans to themselves and friends. He (Mr. B.) had a table in his hand, obtained from the Treasury Department, and showing the annual amount of balances in the Treasury from the foundation of the Government to the present time, and which he would read. It was valuable for two purposes: 1. To show how little need the Government had for large balances; 2. How large these balances became when the banks were powerful and the Government connected with them. In the first years of the Government, the banks were few in num-

ber, and comparatively weak; and then the surpluses stood thus:

Year.	Balance.
1789	\$28,239
1790	570,023
1791	973,905
1792	783,444
1793	753,661
1794	1,151,924
1795	516,442
1796	888,895
1797	1,021,099
1798	617,451
1799	2,161,867
1800	2,623,311

Thus during this period of twelve years, when the National Bank had but ten millions of capital, and State Banks were few and weak, the average surplus for twelve years did not amount to one million of dollars. Now for a different picture. Behold the years 1815-'16-'17.

Year.	Balance.
1815	13,106,592
1816	22,033,519
1817	14,889,465

These three years covered the brief season of bank omnipotence after the conclusion of the late war. The second National Bank, with its thirty-five millions of capital, was then just created; State Legislatures littered local institutions by the forty at a time. Bank influence was predominant everywhere; and no where more powerful than in Congress. Its irresistible influence here was well described at that time by the intrepid and sagacious Mr. Randolph. This is what he said:

"Every man you meet, in this House or out of it, with some rare exceptions, which only served to prove the rule, was either a stockholder, president, cashier, director, attorney, clerk, door-keeper, runner, engraver, or paper maker, to a bank."

"We are tied hand and foot, and bound to conciliate this great mammoth," [the banking interest].

Such was the power of the banks at that time; and the consequence was, an average surplus of near seventeen millions per annum. To be sure it only lasted three years; and the reason was, that the bank only ruled the country three years. It was a short rule, and a merry one; and now for a plunge. Let us see the next four or five years.

Year.	Balance.
1818	1,478,526
1819	2,079,992
1820	1,198,461
1821	1,681,592
1822	4,397,427

Here the average is reduced to about two millions per annum; and why? Because the banks had lost their dominion over the country and the Government, and had neither the means nor the influence to inflate the Treasury. It was the season of the first catastrophe in time of peace; and every thing went down in proportion to their own great fall. It was the season of a general collapse. Let us pass on to the next ascension, to the next perihelion, of this ballooning of the banks. About the year 1833, when the National Bank had lost the prospect of a re-charter, but expanded its business, and when local banks were increased in unprecedented numbers, and as many as ninety of them became the depositories of the public moneys, their power and influence again became immense. The result, on the Federal Treasury, was:

Year.	Balance.
1833	11,702,905
1834	8,992,858
1835	26,749,803
1836	46,708,436
1837	35,759,630

Here is another season of five years of great power in the banks, and of close connection with them by the Federal Government. The result is, average balance, that is to say, an annual surplus, of about twenty-seven millions of dollars! What a comment upon the connection between Bank and State! A connection which exhibits the Federal Treasury as a mere appendage to a rising, flying, plunging and falling balloon. We who have been here for some years have seen the inside workings of this connection, and have seen the votes which created these enormous surpluses; votes to promote all taxation—to prevent all reduction of taxes—and to prevent all possible appropriations, even for the defence of the country, and for the completion of the fortifications; and we have seen these votes regularly coming from the friends of the banks. To complete the picture, it is sufficient to say that the banks had their second catastrophe, in time of peace, in May last;—and that now the balance in the Treasury is low enough!

Mr. B. said, he had for years pointed out the Bank of the United States, while the depository of the public moneys, as the ally of taxes, and the enemy of appropriations; he had made the same remark upon the local deposit banks almost as soon as they were in operation; and he had now given the evidence to show the justice of the application of this character to them both. It was a most fatal objection to all connection with those banks, an objection from which the Government agents would be wholly free. With the mints and individual officers, to keep the public moneys, there would be no interest here to create surpluses for the benefit of banks and their favorites.

A third answer to this objection is, that it

goes to the form of our Government, and im-
peaches the capacity of the people to adminis-
ter their own Government. The objection is,
that the agents selected by the Government,
and responsible to it, cannot be trusted to keep
the public moneys; and, therefore, the custody
of the money must be confided to bank direc-
tors, who are not appointed by the Government,
nor responsible to the people. This is the ob-
jection; and, upon its face, it impeaches the
capacity of the people to administer their own
Government, and to take care of their own
property. This is an inevitable inference; and,
perhaps, another inference, will also result—
namely, that if banks are necessary to the Fed-
eral Government, she will have the same power
to create as to adopt these institutions.

A fourth objection made to the Independent
Treasury is, that it will hoard specie—that it
will cause the Government to become an im-
mense miser, hoarding in the deep recesses of
vaults, and confining with bolts, bars, and safes,
a vast accumulation of gold and silver. Sir,
the table of balances which I have read ex-
plains this objection. It shows that the Gov-
ernment has no balances of any consequence,
except when it is connected with banks. When
free from that connection, or when the banks
are too weak to exert an influence over the pub-
lic counsels, the surplus on hand is next to
nothing; a million per annum in the earlier
stages of the Government, and two millions per
annum in later times. The table shows how
little need there is for any surplus; for it is
notorious that the Government machine work-
ed far better when it was a touch-and-go busi-
ness with the Treasury, than it ever did with
its ten, twenty, thirty, and forty millions of sur-
pluses. There will be no surplus to be hoard-
ed if the Government can succeed in breaking its
connection with the banks. Economy can then
be practiced, as well as professed. It can then
be practiced by those who are really in favor
of it.

Mr. B. said, that at the extra session he had
given it as his opinion that the payment of the
Federal revenues in gold and silver would not
occasion more than four or five millions of dol-
lars to be taken out of circulation; in other
words, that four or five millions would accom-
plish the annual payment of the whole revenue.
A further study of the subject, and a view of
the table of balances which he had just pre-
sented, induced him to believe that two or three
millions would be sufficient. One million was
found to be sufficient in the first twelve years
of the Government, and two millions in the five
years from 1818 to 1822, inclusive. The same
amount would have been equally sufficient at all
other times. He was against surpluses; he was
against any financial calculation for leaving any
amount whatever in the Treasury; he was op-
posed to any scheme of finance which had for
its basis any reserve of money in the Federal
Treasury. This was an old subject with him
[Mr. B.]. He had made his acquaintance with
it twelve years ago. He had then tried his
young hand, for the first time, on a financial
subject, and on resolutions submitted by him-
self to repeal so much of the Sinking Fund act
of 1817 as directed a reserve of two millions
per annum to be kept in the Treasury. He
had then shown it to be an unnecessary precau-
tion; that it was far better to cut down taxes
to the estimated expenditure, and invest the
Government with a contingent authority to bor-
row the two millions in the event of a need for
it to meet appropriations before Congress would
assemble. This was his opinion twelve years
ago; it was his opinion now. He was opposed
to any plan for leaving a surplus dollar in the
Treasury; he was opposed to the issue of
Treasury notes to supply deficiencies; he was
for the contingent authority to borrow, if neces-
sary, a small sum to meet appropriations, and
then paying it off out of the first surplus. In
this way and by increasing and diminishing
the amount for the flexible objects of ex-
penditure, such as fortifications, ships, harbors,
light-houses, &c. the small, occasional, and al-
ternate deficiencies and excesses in the revenue
could be easily, safely, and economically met
and provided for.

Not specie enough in the world to supply
the demand which this bill would create, and
not time enough in the year to count it, if there
was enough, is another of the objections to this
bill. This is relied upon by many speakers,
and grave calculations are gone into to show
that the three hundred and sixty-five days in
the year would be too short a time to suffice
for the counting in and counting out the Gov-
ernment revenues, if paid in gold and silver—
Sir, there is a species of argument which the
logicians call the *argumentum ad ignorantiam*—
an argument to ignorance; but this argument
goes beyond that, for it is an argument to the
lowest degree of ignorance. If any answer was
due to it—the counting part of it—it might be
found in the act of 1789, when the revenues
were directed to be paid in gold and silver coin
only; and also, in a speech delivered on the
floor of the House some years ago, when the
collection of the revenues in hard money was
so strenuously urged by a gentleman, now so
entirely opposed to it.* But no answer is due

to it. Every body knows better. Neither in-
dividuals, or nations, ever lost time in counting
masses of specie. Ordinary sums are counted
without loss of time, and masses are transferred
by weight, or in kegs or bags.

With respect to the other part of the objec-
tion—the impossibility of getting an adequate
supply—it is an objection refuted by the ex-
perience of all nations, and particularly by our
own experience. At the close of the Revolu-
tion we had nothing but depreciated paper; in
six or seven years afterwards we had an ade-
quate supply of gold and silver. Scarcely France:
In 1800 she had nothing but assignats, depre-
ciated as low as our old continental bills. In
seven years afterwards she had a specie cur-
rency of five hundred and fifty millions of dol-
lars. So of England: In 1819 she had nothing
but depreciated paper; Parliament passed an
act for the redemption of specie payments, and
allowed four years for the banks to supply them-
selves. In two years the Bank of England re-
ported an acquisition of twenty millions sterling
in gold—one hundred millions of dollars—and
that she was ready to resume. The same bank
now, at this moment, has made an acquisition
of six millions sterling—thirty millions of dollars
—in the brief space of nine months. In May
last, her supply was three and a half millions
sterling; in January, it was nine and a half.
But to come to our own country. Our custom-
house returns show that specie flows in upon us
annually in large masses, and either remains
with us, or goes off again, precisely as it suits
our own policy to retain it or not. Our correct
returns of imports and exports of specie go back
to the year 1821, and this is the result.

	Imports.	Exports.
1821	\$8,064,890	\$10,478,059
1822	3,300,846	10,810,189
1823	6,897,890	6,372,897
1824	8,379,835	9,014,553
1825	6,159,765	8,797,955
1826	6,880,960	4,704,553
1827	8,152,130	8,014,880
1828	6,489,741	\$2,427,476
1829	7,400,612	4,024,020
1830	8,155,964	2,178,772
1831	7,809,945	9,014,931
1832	5,907,554	5,656,349

This includes a period of twelve years. The
imports for that period amount to the large sum
of \$83,356,000. The average import was a-
bout seven millions of dollars per annum. If
the specie policy of General Jackson had then
been in force, a large proportion of this import
would have remained in the country; but the
paper money policy was then in the ascendant.
The Bank of the United States was then om-
nipotent; and her policy was to export specie,
for the double purpose of making a profit on
the export, and creating a vacuum at home, to
be filled by her own notes; and, above all, to
deprive the country of specie, and reduce the
local banks to the use of her notes for their cap-
ital; so that when she wished to upset the Gov-
ernment, to rule the election, or to convulse
the moneyed world, she would have nothing to
do but to order a curtailment of two or three
millions a month, and charge it upon any act,
no matter what, of the Federal Government.—
This was the policy which then prevailed, and
accordingly, large as the import of specie was
in these twelve years, the export was still larger:
it was \$84,280,000. Thus, instead of retain-
ing any part of what came in for the use of the
country, there was actually sent out about a
million more than came in.

The next period of five years shows the ef-
fect of the specie policy. The imports and ex-
ports for this period stand thus:

	Imports.	Exports.
1833	\$7,070,368	\$2,614,651
1834	17,911,062	1,676,258
1835	13,141,447	5,748,174
1836	12,166,372	4,435,815
1837	10,954,432	7,714,990

Behold the difference! Our imports for
five years amounting to sixty-two millions; our
exports almost nothing. The average import
for the whole five years, including 1837 amount-
ing to about twelve millions and a half of dol-
lars; and our exports, except for the extra-
ordinary year of 1837, only averaging a little
over three millions. This is the state of our
own experience. It shows that, without any
demand for specie, it flows in upon us at the
rate of seven millions per annum, but flows out
again; that with a demand for it, it flows in
at the rate of twelve and a half millions per
annum, and nearly all remains with us. This
is the effect of a demand for specie for the Fed-
eral Treasury. Let that demand continue.—
Let the Government continue to collect,
and above all, to pay out, specie and
in a few years the national supply will be com-
plete. The country will possess as much as it
can use, be it a hundred, a hundred and twenty
or a hundred and fifty millions. The supply
will find its own level, and the excess will flow
off.

These, sir, are the main objections to the bill.
They are the principal ones which have been
urged. They will not bear examination.—

As the money of the country, and which was, in fact, greatly
depreciated.
*As to the evils of the present state of things, Mr. W.
admitted it in the fullest extent. If he was not mistaken
there were some millions in the Treasury of paper which
were nearly worthless, and were now wholly useless to
the Government, by which an actual loss of considerable
amount must certainly be sustained by the Treasury.
This was an evil which ought to be met at once, because
it would grow greater by indulgence. In the end, the
debt must be paid in the legal money of the country, and
the sooner that was brought about the better.

If Congress were to pass forty statutes on the subject
he said, they would not make the law more conclusive
than it now was; that nothing should be received in
payment of duties to the Government but specie; and
yet no regard was paid to the imperative injunctions of
the law in this respect. The whole strength of the Gov-
ernment, he was of opinion, ought to be put forth to compel
the payment of the duties and taxes to the Government in
the legal currency of the country.

Every argument resulting from them is an ar-
gument in favor of the bill, instead of being
against it. And what is the alternative pro-
posed by those who object to this bill? By
the Federal gentlemen the alternative is openly
proclaimed to be a National Bank! that is to
say, Mr. Biddle's bank; for they mean no
other. By a few of the Republicans, a resort
to the State Banks is the alternative. The
Federal gentlemen agree to take this latter al-
ternative for the present—as so much gained
towards their National Bank—as a halfway
house to that institution. 'This is candid in
those gentlemen. It is candid, if it is a wise.
They will go with a few of our friends to the
halfway house, knowing that Mr. Biddle can
blow up that house any night that he pleases,
and that the Chestnut street palace must then
become the refuge of the terrified innuantes of
the demolished stopping place.

Mr. B. would not dilate upon the dangers of
this alternative. To learn danger—to take
warning—from an enemy, is a maxim of great
antiquity, and one which has its full application
on this occasion. If neither the conduct of the
Opposition, their language, their speeches on
this floor, can warn gentlemen, it would seem
to be almost in vain to appeal to past experience
to witness the present or to contemplate the
future. The State bank deposit system, with
the use of their paper money, has failed us in
time of war and in time of peace. It has twice
failed in time of peace. It is now in a state of
failure. The late deposit banks now owe the
Government six and a half millions of dollars,
which an empty Treasury in vain calls for. To
rely upon them again, is to walk into the pit in
broad day with the eyes wide open. Our bank-
ing system, always on fallacious principles—
always unsound and delusive—is now becoming
worse than ever. It becomes worse daily, and
in many instances, is made so on purpose, that
another catastrophe may be produced, and then
charged upon the Administration. Issuance of
small notes, even down to a dollar; issuance of
post notes, connection with party politics, and
with that party whose connection has been fatal
to all its associates; subjection to the policy
of the Bank of the United States, on the part
of a great many banks; such is the downward
course of our banking system at present.—
Timely and prudent reformation might save it;
but all reformation is resisted and baffled. To
make all worse, seems to be the policy of those
who have most power over the subject. Un-
der these circumstances, what fidelity in the
Government of the United States to connect
its Treasury again with these institutions, big
with inherent dangers, and beset by a tremen-
dous foe!

I have gone over some of the objections to
the plan for an Independent Treasury. I have
spoken to some parts of the bill before the
Senate; but the merits of that bill are no part
of the real question. The contest is for power.
Political power is the object of the Op-
position—abuse of the bill, the means of attain-
ing it—and a panic the grand desideratum.
Panic is the ailment of the Federal party—
their engine for governing the people. The
mythological god Pan is the divinity of their
worship. To him they look for help—to
that grotesque and hideous deity, half man and
half goat, whose bare apparition in ancient
times would put whole armies to flight. This
is the tutelary divinity of the Federal party,
and always has been. Panics were their re-
source from the foundation of the Government;
and, forty years ago, the French Revolution
was that the Republican administrations now
are, the great magazine of horrors from which
they supplied themselves with "gorgeous heads
and chimerae dire," to alarm and terrify the
nation. Mr. Jefferson, in his memoirs, has
described that period, emphatically called the
Reign of Terror. He has given many pages
to the description of it; but declares that no
person, who did not witness it, can form any
idea of the terrorism with which the Federal
party then surrounded itself, and the ruthlessness
and violence with which they browbeat and in-
sulted the Republicans. Some extracts from
his description of that period may bring up
useful recollections at this time, when the
violence of the revived Federal party so far
transcends all that was witnessed forty years
ago. He says:

"The horrors of the French revolution then, raging
around them, and using that as a raw-herd-and-
blood-money, they were enabled by their stratagems of
X, Y, Z, their tales of tub plots, their insidious slan-
ders, &c. to spread alarm into all but the firmest hearts.
These transactions, now recollected as dramas of the
night, were then sad realities, and nothing rescued us
from their terrific effect, or the unyielding opposition
of these firm spirits, who were already in a state of
defiance of terror."
The usurpations and violations of the Constitution at their period, and
their majorities in both Houses of Congress were so great
as to enable them to do daring, and after combating their re-
gressions, such by such, without being able in the least
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and wherever

[Concluded from page second.]

Thus we have gone on every since the appearance of General Jackson on the political stage, and the coincident revival of the old political parties of 1798. Terror is the chosen agent of action upon the public mind now as it was then; but with this great difference, that the phantoms then brought forward to frighten the people into measures, were solely directed to the nervous system, and never combined with any attack upon the business operations of the country. People were then to be frightened out of their votes, but not deprived of work and labor, or ruined in their trade and occupation. Now the assault is double—it is both upon the nerves of the man, and upon his bread. The famous Queen Elizabeth, in stopping the income of the refractory Earl of Essex said, *an ungovernable beast must be deprived of his provender*. So of the present Opposition tactics in our own country. Stop his bread—make him feel—turn him out to graze; this is the language of the day. An immense mounted institution, able to create the distress which it foretells; has brought the Queen Elizabeth ingredient into the composition of modern Federal panics; and now every successive attempt at alarm is accompanied by an attack on the business of the country co-extensive with the power, and the ramifications of the power of the Bank of the United States. Laborers dismissed—work stopped—factories closed—wages reduced; bread and fuel monopolized, and the price augmented—bank accommodations withheld from small dealers and hard workers, and profusely granted to capitalists, shavers, and speculators—specie payments suspended—exchanges deranged, actual distress created by every act of oppression and aggravated by every act of exaggeration—distress meetings—distress orations—distress committees—and the whole charged by its own authors on the Republican Administrations; such is the infusion of demoniac ingredients which bank vengeance has superadded to Federal panics, and by which the elections are to be governed, and the people scourged into submission to Federal and Bank dominion.

It is now about six years since these attacks have been going on. They commenced with the famous veto session of 1832—the marble palace in Chesnut street, Philadelphia, being the source from which they emanate. The nearer to that source, the more the country is affected and injured; the farther off, the less. Thus, the South and West are less injured than the Northeast; and, in some particulars, the South and West are gaining under the effect of these attacks on business, while the States and cities North of the Potomac are losing. It is time for reflecting men to consider the consequences of this unnatural warfare upon the business of the country. It is time for them to ask themselves what its effects must be on the population, the manufactures and the commerce of the Northeast, and on the banks themselves, which either become the criminal agents, or the unfortunate victims, of this diabolical policy. History informs us that the revocation of the edict of Nantes deprived France, in three years, of three hundred thousand souls, who carried to foreign States the arts and manufactures of their own native country. History also informs us that the tyranny of the Flemish manufacturing corporations transferred the woolen manufacture from Flanders to England. Already an effect similar to that of the revocation of the edict of Nantes on France, and of the tyranny of the Flemish corporations in Flanders, is beginning to be visible in the effects of this war upon the business of the country in the Northeast.—Great is the number of respectable and useful artisans and laborers—great the number of enterprising young men—numerous the heads of families, with their sons and daughters, and promising train of young children, which have already bid adieu to the troubled scenes of the Northeast, and sought repose and independence in the rich and tranquil regions of the far West. Never was the emigration to the West so great.—The roads, rivers and canals—all the western communications—are filled with moving masses, pressing into the great Valley of the Mississippi. "Westward the star of empire holds its course." A continuation of the causes of the emigration must augment the emigration itself; and in a few years the effects must be felt on the population and manufactures of the Northeast. To the banks themselves, whether the agents or the victims of this unnatural warfare, a continuance of such conduct must be fatal. Political associations for any purpose, and with any party, must be dangerous to banking institutions; but an association with that party whose connection has been fatal to two National Banks, and to every thing else that it ever touched, and an association to govern elections by breaking up the business of the country—such an association, must be fatal indeed, not merely to the culpable banks engaged in the work, but to many innocent ones which avoid their policy. To the great importing cities, and especially to New York, a continuance of this course; with a repetition of bank suspension, derangement of exchanges, and interruption of credit must be highly deleterious. The early loss of the Southern and Western trade must be the penalty of such conduct. Habit, and adventitious circumstances, now carry the Northeast to purchase goods; and to purchase them at all the disadvantage of a second hand sale, loaded with the costs, charges, profits and losses of an intermediate sale. Direct purchases in Europe are as easy for the South and West as this second hand operation, and far cheaper. They have the capital—the real capital—in their hundred millions of annual exportable productions. They sell at hard money prices in Europe, and purchase at paper money prices

in the United States. The paper system always hard upon the exporting State, becomes ruinous to them in its derangements. The South and West have only to begin direct importations, and the natural channels will vindicate their own rights forever afterwards. Venice, Genoa, Alexandria, Cairo, once entrepôts of Asiatic and European commerce, had as well look for a restoration of that commerce after the Cape of Good Hope had been doubled, as that New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore shall look for a continuation of Southern and Western trade, when once the Liverpool and Havre markets shall be in direct communication with New Orleans and Charleston.

Mr. President, I have said but little—comparatively little—on the merits of the bill before you, because I know, as I have already said, that the merit or demerit of the bill, is not the question before us. It was the question which we presented; it is not the question which gentlemen of the Opposition have discussed. They bring forward another question—one of political power of restoration of themselves to power. They fly to all the topics of party warfare: they arm themselves from the magazine of party politics; and the Presidential election of 1840 is the object in view. The struggle is for recovery of a lost charter, and restoration to lost power. The party which got into power, without the consent of the people, in 1835, and which has since been evicted from power by the voice of the people—that party now nerves itself for the dying contest of 1840. At its side is its well beloved cousin and ally, the denationalized National Bank, collecting all its energies for the recovery of a charter which a charter which a hero President, and a patriot people, refused to renew in 1832. This double recovery is the object; and the question which really presents itself, is this: ought the evicted Federal party, and the vetoed Federal Bank, be restored to the possession of the political and the pecuniary power of these United States? This is the question and I hold the negative of it; for, of all Governments under the sun, restorations are admitted to be the most abominable and insufferable! They are the worst Governments ever known. Vengeance and persecution are the ruling passions, and indemnification for lost time their main occupation. It has been so in all ages and in all countries, and will be so forever. Ancients and moderns—in Asia, Africa, Europe, and America—the same passions govern the restored party, modified only by the different degrees of civilization which prevail. With the Romans it was proscription and exile—the *agui et ignis interdictio*. In Asia and Africa, the restored chief glut his savage vengeance in acts of brutal violence upon his helpless enemies. In Europe, more civilly methods accomplish the degradation, and if need be, the destruction of the defeated party. In England, the restoration of the Stuarts was the signal for infesting the country with delators, for informers, and spies; for fabrication meal-tub and rye-house plots; for sending the Sidneyes and the Russells to judicial slaughter; for filling the prisons with patriots, the Parliament with bills of attainder, and the King's palace with bullies and assassins. In France, the restoration of the old Bourbons brought with it executions, exiles, persecutions, infringement of chartered liberties, and war upon every liberal idea. Here, in our own America, we have constitutional guarantees for the protection of personal rights; but of what avail against the passions and the power of party, let the fate of President Jackson—adjudged unheard by his enemies on this floor—convicted of an impeachable offence without the form of a trial—let his fate tell! Yes sir! restorations, of all Governments, are the most odious and intolerable. No country has been able, in modern times, to endure one of them. The English chased off the Stuarts; the French chased away the old Bourbons. What sort of Government should we have, in these United States, under the restored dominion of the Federal party, so violent in Mr. Jefferson's time, and so much more furious now? What sort of a National Bank would that institution make which is now boiling over with vengeance against every Republican who has not "croaked the plant hinges of the knee" to its divinity? The political and the pecuniary power of such a party, and such a bank.

Is its restoration probable? I think not. Temporary and partial success, the delusive fruit of terror and deception may gild their banners for a while. They may carry a few counties, some cities some States. They may elections, as they have done heretofore. But to succeed in the main object—to carry the Presidential chair in 1840—that I hold to be impossible. I go upon my knowledge of the American people. I know them to be for their country, and believe that they can never elevate to power the party which builds its elevation upon the calamities, the humiliations, and the misfortunes of their country. They can never elevate to power the party which in every contest, foreign and domestic, is found on the wrong side of the question—on the side of the British, the French, the Indians, the Mexicans, the non-resuming banks, and the skin-plasters. Such a party cannot succeed; and I announce to them their fate in advance—a Jackson defeat for the month of November, one thousand eight hundred and forty.

Notice.
I hereby give notice to all persons that I have this day sold and relinquished to my son David A. Gibbons his time until he arrives at the full age of twenty-one years, that he has full right and authority to trade earnings of property, and that I shall pay no debts of his contracting after this date.
JOHN GIBBERN.
Byron, March 26th, 1835.

Dr. Brandreth's Genuine Vegetable Universal Pills.

ON the eighteenth of May, 1835, these now truly celebrated Pills were first made known to the United States, although in Europe they had been previously before the public nearly a century. The American public naturally viewed them with suspicion, but as on trial they were found what they professed, it was soon dispelled by the greatest confidence. They have achieved this character too, under very adverse circumstances, keeping mankind in a state of error as regards the functions of their bodies. Dr. Brandreth would here impress on his friends the public generally, that however different may be the action of the Pills at different times, and under such different action as is uniformly; they should, therefore, be persevered in until the action is uniform; for they are an efficient assistant of nature, have and humors have upon the skin, or that the tides have upon the face; they purify. What is judicious as the copying of nature? We see, that when she wishes to become purified, that she puts herself in commotion, which has the purifying effect. And so we, in inducing purity in our bodies, bring about a natural commotion by artificial means, and experience has taught those who have adapted the course, and who for this purpose have used these Pills, that they were in the right way. The cause of the result has been sound health, or, in other words, every organ has been restored to a state of purity consistent with its functions; and although there are many whose bodies are in such a state of debility and suffering, that all which can reasonably be expected, is temporary relief; nevertheless, many persons who have commenced with them, under the most trying circumstances, and bodily affliction, when every other means failed to health and happiness from their use, have been restored to health and happiness by the use of these Pills, and in some cases have cured Consumption, Influenza, Colds, Indigestion, Fevers of all kinds, Asthma, Gout, Rheumatism, Nervous Diseases, Liver Complaint, Pleurisy, Inward Weakness, Depression, Dropsy, Spitting Blood, Hemorrhage, Gravel, Gout, Palsy, Cough, Quinsy, Cholera, Cholera Morbus, Gravel, Worms, Diarrhea, Dysentery, Ringing Noises in the Head, King's Evil, Scrofula, Erysipelas or St. Anthony's Fire, Salt Rheum, Tumors, Swelled feet, and some of 30 years standing; Cancers, Ulcers of the Skin, Frightful Dreams, Female Complaints of every kind, especially obstructions, relaxations, &c.

14,000 TESTIMONIALS have been received from individuals of the highest respectability, who have been cured by the use of these Pills since their introduction into the United States. Call on Dr. Brandreth's store and read the original A. L. letters, all proving the extraordinary power of Brandreth's Pills in removing diseases of the most opposite character, from the Constitution. They in fact prove by the cures they make that there is no necessity for any other medicine.

AGENTS FOR THE COUNTY OF OXFORD
PARIS, CROCKER & SHAW,
Hiram Bridge,
Lovel, Waterford,
South Waterford,
Harford, Bedford,
Rumford Point,
Do. Centre, Dixfield,
Livernore Falls,
N. Livernore Corner,
Canton Mills,
Bedford, Harford,
Turner, Norway,
Woodstock & Greenwood, Welcome Kinley,
Paris Cape, South Paris Manufacturing Company Store.

AGENTS that have been appointed in Oxford County and who hold a Copper Plate Certificate of Agency, will please make returns to CROCKER & SHAW at Paris, and receive their supplies hereafter from them, who are appointed Agents for the County of Oxford, State of Maine.

JOHN O. LANGLEY,
The only authorized Travelling Agent
For the State of Maine.

Consumption!

DR. REALE'S ASTHMATIC PILLS

HAVE, from their extraordinary success in giving instant relief, and in curing Coughs, Asthma, Difficulty of Breathing, Wheezing, Tightness of the Chest, Pain in the Spitting of Blood, Chills and Shivering that precede Fevers, and Lung Complaints generally, become one of the most popular remedies, and are sought after from every part of the country, on account of the astonishing success which has attended their administration in the above complaints, and in giving the most unexpected relief, after every other remedy had failed, and persons had given themselves up in despair of a cure gone in consumption, and exhibiting all the appearance of approaching dissolution.

And such have been the salutary effects of these Pills, even in the most advanced cases, as to so far mitigate the sufferings of the patient, as to enable him to prolong his life for days and weeks, and give him a positive inducement to never expect to die.

The operation of the pills is felt in easing respiration, quieting the cough, and procuring comfort.

Common colds are frequently removed in a few hours.

"Although, (says a person, speaking of these pills,) my wife has tried various medicines of the first celebrity, for an Asthmatic difficulty, (or affection of the lungs,) which at times was exceedingly distressing, confining her to her house for days and weeks together, she finds that nothing gives her relief which Dr. Reale's Asthmatic Pills do—easing her cough, and giving her comfortable rest." And this is the testimony of hundreds or thousands. The relief which aged persons, as well as others, experience from the use of these Pills, is so striking, and so invaluable to many, and are in fact, to some, an essential auxiliary to their comfort, and almost to their existence!

A Physician informs the Proprietor, that a gentleman in the country observed to him, he had reason to believe the use of these Pills had been the means of saving his life.

Price, whole boxes, 30 Pills, \$1; half do. 12 Pills, 50 cts.

DUMFRIES' EYE-WATER!

FOR sore or inflamed Eyes—nothing gives such immediate and comfortable relief. On recent sore eyes, the standing, the most unexpected and desirable relief has been found in the use of this Eye-Water, after every other remedy has failed. Persons who have used it, pronounce it without hesitation the best preparation for these complaints they have ever met with. Price 25 cts a bottle.

"None genuine, unless signed on the outside printed wrapper by the sole Proprietor, T. KIDDER, successor to the late Dr. Conway. For sale with the other 'Conway Medicines,' at his Counting Room, No. 99, next door to J. Kidder's Drug Store, Corner of Court and Hanover streets, near Concert Hall, Boston; and by his special appointment, by S. CHOCQUET & Co., Paris-Hill, 33, and by J. B. BERRY, & W. E. GOODNOW, Norway-Village, who have also for sale the only celebrated medicines prepared by him.

Large discounts to those who buy to sell again. [No. 21]

For Sale,

THE FARM formerly owned by the late HENRIAN House in Paris, Maine, consists of about 175 acres of land of excellent quality, suitably divided into mowing, tillage, pasture and wood-land—on which is about one and a half acre of good Stone Wall. The buildings are a two story House with 100 by 30 ft.—25 feet shed. A good well for the House and an excellent aqueduct with an abundant supply of water for the Farm. The Orchard is beautiful and thrifty, and of choice engrafted fruit.

Said farm is well watered and under good improvement—cattle and flocks of good English Hay, and has pasture for 50 head of cattle, and is probably one of the best SHEEP farms in the State. There is also on said farm a first rate Mill Privilege.

Terms—One fourth Cash, and the residue in three, nine, and twelve months. Enquire of
SIMON S. STEVENS, or
K. K. GOODNOW.

Paris, Maine, July 19, 1835.

It is believed that, for the last six or eight years, most has been grown on said farm amounting, annually, in value to from \$150 to \$200.

At a Court of Probate holden at Paris, within and for the County of Oxford, on the tenth day of April in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and thirty-eight—
The petition of Levi P. Sawyer, Administrator with the will annexed of the estate of Job C. Lord late of Denmark in said county, deceased, representing that in order to execute the provisions of the last Will and Testament of said Lord, and the debts belonging to the estate of said Lord should be sold excepting the homestead farm.

Ordered,
That the petitioner give notice to all persons interested, by causing a copy of this order to be published in the Oxford Democrat printed in Paris in said county, three weeks successively, that they may appear at a Probate Court to be holden at Paris, in said county, on the seventh day of August, next, at ten o'clock A. M., and show cause if any they have, why the prayer of said petition should not be granted.

STEPHEN EMERY, Judge.
Copy, Attest—Levi Stowell, Register.

SAUEL BARTLETT,
late of Rumford in the County of Oxford, deceased, by giving bond as the law directs—He therefore requests all persons who are indebted to the said deceased's estate to make immediate payment; and those who have any demands thereon, to exhibit the same to
SARAH F. BARTLETT.
Rumford, April 12, 1835.

At a Court of Probate holden at Paris, within and for the County of Oxford, on the sixth day of March in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and thirty-eight—
FRANKLIN HOSMER, Administrator of the estate of Daniel Whitcomb, late of Sweden, in said county, deceased, having presented his first account of administration of the estate of said deceased.

Ordered,
That the said Adm'r give notice to all persons interested, by causing a copy of this order to be published three weeks successively in the Oxford Democrat printed at Paris, that they may appear at a Probate Court to be held at Waterford, in said county, on the sixth day of August, next, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, and show cause, if any they have, why the same should not be allowed.

STEPHEN EMERY, Judge.
Copy, Attest—Levi Stowell, Register.

At a Court of Probate holden at Paris within and for the County of Oxford on the tenth day of April, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and thirty-eight—
FANNY AMES and FRANCIS AMES named Executors in certain instrument purporting to be the last Will and Testament of Abel Ames, late of Hartford in said county, deceased, having presented the same for probate.

Ordered,
That the said Executors give notice to all persons interested, by causing a copy of this order to be published three weeks successively in the Oxford Democrat printed at Paris, that they may appear at a Probate Court to be held at Paris, in said county, on the twenty second day of May, next, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, and show cause, if any they have, why the said instrument should not be proved, approved, and allowed as the last Will and Testament of said deceased.

STEPHEN EMERY, Judge.
Copy, Attest—Levi Stowell, Register.

At a Court of Probate held at Paris, within and for the County of Oxford, on the sixth day of March in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and thirty-eight—
SARAH J. BARTLETT, Administrator of the estate of Samuel Bartlett late of Rumford in said county, deceased, having presented her first account of administration of the estate of said deceased.

Ordered,
That the said Administrator give notice to all persons interested, by causing a copy of this order to be published three weeks successively in the Oxford Democrat printed at Paris, that they may appear at a Probate Court to be held at Paris, in said county, on the twenty second day of May, next, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, and show cause, if any they have, why the same should not be allowed.

STEPHEN EMERY, Judge.
Copy, Attest—Levi Stowell, Register.

At a Court of Probate held at Paris, within and for the County of Oxford, on the tenth day of April, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and thirty-eight—
BARNABAS DAVEY, named Executor in certain instrument purporting to be the last Will and Testament of Simon Davelite of Hebron, in said county, deceased, having presented the same for probate.

Ordered,
That the said Executor give notice to all persons interested, by causing a copy of this order to be published three weeks successively in the Oxford Democrat printed at Paris, that they may appear at a Probate Court to be held at Paris, in said county, on the twenty second day of May, next, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, and show cause, if any they have, why the said instrument should not be proved, approved, and allowed as the last will and testament of said deceased.

STEPHEN EMERY, Judge.
Copy Attest Levi Stowell, Register.

At a Court of Probate held at Paris, within and for the County of Oxford, on the tenth day of April, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and thirty-eight—
THE subscriber hereby gives public notice to all concerned, that he has been duly appointed and taken upon himself the trust of Executor of the last Will and Testament of
ISAAC S. TOWNE.
late of Bethel, in the County of Oxford, deceased, by giving bond as the law directs—He therefore requests all persons who are indebted to the said deceased's estate to make immediate payment; and those who have any demands thereon, to exhibit the same to
JOHN S. SHED.
Bethel April 10, 1835.

At a Court of Probate held at Paris, within and for the County of Oxford, on the tenth day of April, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and thirty-eight—
THE subscriber hereby gives public notice to all concerned, that he has been duly appointed and taken upon himself the trust of Executor of the last Will and Testament of
MOSES BARKER.
late of Bethel in the County of Oxford, deceased, by giving bond as the law directs—He therefore requests all persons who are indebted to the said deceased's estate to make immediate payment; and those who have any demands thereon, to exhibit the same to
FRANCIS BARKER.
Bethel April 10, 1835.

At a Court of Probate held at Paris, within and for the County of Oxford, on the tenth day of April, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and thirty-eight—
THE subscriber hereby gives public notice to all concerned, that he has been duly appointed and taken upon himself the trust of Administrator on the estate of
STEPHEN COFFIN.
late of Lovell, in the County of Oxford, deceased, by giving bond as the law directs—He therefore requests all persons who are indebted to the said deceased's estate to make immediate payment; and those who have any demands thereon, to exhibit the same to
JOHN S. SHED.
Norway April 10, 1835.

At a Court of Probate held at Paris, within and for the County of Oxford, on the tenth day of April, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and thirty-eight—
THE subscriber hereby gives public notice to all concerned, that he has been duly appointed and taken upon himself the trust of Executor of the last Will and Testament of
JOSEPH MERRILL.
late of Turner, in the County of Oxford, deceased, by giving bond as the law directs—He therefore requests all persons who are indebted to the said deceased's estate to make immediate payment; and those who have any demands thereon, to exhibit the same to
ALLEN PUMILLY.
Turner April 10, 1835.

At a Court of Probate held at Paris, within and for the County of Oxford, on the tenth day of April, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and thirty-eight—
THE subscriber hereby gives public notice to all concerned, that he has been duly appointed and taken upon himself the trust of Administrator on the estate of
WILLIAM H. MUZZY.
late of Oxford in the County of Oxford, deceased, by giving bond as the law directs—He therefore requests all persons who are indebted to the said deceased's estate to make immediate payment; and those who have any demands thereon, to exhibit the same to
ALEXANDER H. MUZZY.
Oxford March 6, 1835.

At a Court of Probate held at Paris, within and for the County of Oxford, on the tenth day of April, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and thirty-eight—
THE subscriber hereby gives public notice to all concerned, that he has been duly appointed and taken upon himself the trust of Administrator on the estate of
ARTHUR MITCHELL.
late of Mexico, in the County of Oxford, deceased, by giving bond as the law directs—He therefore requests all persons who are indebted to the said deceased's estate to make immediate payment; and those who have any demands thereon, to exhibit the same to
SAMUEL MORRILL.
Dixfield April 10th, 1835.

NOTICE—This may certify that I have this day relinquished to my son, Joseph D. Welch, his time until he is twenty-one years of age, with power to act and trade for himself. I shall claim none of his earnings nor pay any debts of his contracting after this date.
JAMES WELCH.
Paris April 12, 1835.

Sheriff's Sale.

OXFORD, ss.—Taken on Execution and will be sold at public Vendue on Saturday the fifth day of May next, at the dwelling-house of Esak Randall in Dixfield in said County of Oxford.—All the right, title and interest that Jacob Goodenough has to the land and buildings where he now lives in Jay in said County of Oxford, and place of sale.

PETER AUSTIN, Deputy Sheriff.
March 26, 1835.

Sheriff's Sale.

OXFORD, ss.—Taken on Execution and will be sold at public Vendue at the Inn of Col Samuel Merrill in Dixfield Village, on Saturday the twelfth day of May next at ten o'clock A. M. all the right in equity which Hartwell Atkins has in the South half of Lot No. Eleven in the fourth range, agreeable to the original Plan of the town of Jay—now situated in Canton, the same having been attached on original writ.

ISAAC PARK, Deputy Sheriff.
Canton, March 25th, 1835.

NOTICE—All persons are hereby forbid harboring or trusting my son Noah Bainbridge Dean on my account, as I shall pay no debts of his contracting after this date.
NOAH DEAN.
Paris, April 3, 1835.

Administrator's Notice.

BY virtue of a license from the Court of Probate of Oxford County (Maine) I shall sell at public Vendue on the fifth day of May next, at ten o'clock A. M. all the right in the Meeting house in Dixfield Village, belonging to the estate Henry White, Esq. late of Mexico, deceased, for the purpose of paying the debts of said deceased.

SAMUEL MORRILL, Administrator.
Dixfield, April 6, 1835.

Saddle & Harness Making.

Chaise Trimming, &c.
S. M. NEWHALL having taken the stand formerly occupied by W. Leslie, at South Paris, would respectfully invite a share of public patronage. Saddles, Harnesses, Bridles, Halters, Martingales, Whips, Whiplashes, Trunks, Valises, Carpet Bags, &c. constantly on hand, and for sale cheap for Cash or Produce.
January 1, 1835.

FOR SALE.

THE Farm formerly owned and occupied by Nathan Foster, late of Norway, deceased, for the benefit of the heirs of said deceased, containing fifty acres of land well divided into mowing, tillage, pasture and woodland, with a House and Barn on the same.

For a more particular description inquire of
WILLIAM FOSTER, Jr. Guardian.
Norway, March 6th, 1835.

Guardian's Sale.

BY virtue of a license from the Judge of Probate for the County of Oxford, the subscriber offers for sale the Haystack Farm, so called, in Waterford; said farm belongs to the estate of John Abbot, and is sold for his benefit. It is situated between the two Villages—contains about 233 acres of land, has a good barn, two houses, &c. &c. upon it; and will be sold in three or more parcels if desired. If not sold at private sale it will be offered at a minimum price at Public Auction on Friday, June 1st ensuing, at 2 o'clock P. M. on the premises. For terms, at private sale, enquire of Edward Carleton, of Waterford, or of the subscriber in Portland.

REBE STEELE, Guardian.
Portland, March 30, 1835.

For Sale.

THE subscriber offers for sale, their establishment at South Paris Village, consisting of a large two story dwelling house, with a good porch, wood and chain house attached to the same, and a large barn. House well painted, inside and out. Two good wells of water. A good sized barn in prime order, with one acre of land under a high state of cultivation.

The above described property is within fifty rods of the So. Paris Factory, and will be sold at a bargain.

ZEBEDEE PERRY.
JAMES Y. POOR.
So. Paris February 5, 1835.

For Sale.

A NEW CARDING MACHINE and PICKER, and will be sold at a bargain.

Also—Two Shares in the South Paris Factory.

Paris, February 5th, 1835.

ZEBEDEE PERRY.

Administrator's Sale.

BY virtue of a license from the Probate Court for the County of Oxford there will be sold on the premises on Tuesday the 22nd day of May next so much of the real estate of Aaron Noyes, late of Norway, in said county, deceased, as will Produce the sum of seven hundred and fifty dollars, and will be sold in one lot of land on which he lived in said Carriage sale will take place at 10 o'clock in the forenoon.

CHARLES NOY S, Administrator.

DAVID T. WILLIAMS

late of Madrid in the County of Oxford deceased, by giving bond as the law directs—He therefore requests all persons who are indebted to the said deceased's estate to make immediate payment; and those who have any demands thereon, to exhibit the same to
MARY WILLIAMS ASSE.
NATHANIEL F. WILLIAMS, Adm'r.
Madrid March 6, 1835.

Administrator's Sale.

BY virtue of a license from the Court of Probate for the County of Oxford, I shall sell at public Vendue on Saturday the nineteenth day of May next, at one o'clock in the afternoon, at the store of Cracker & Shaw's store in Paris, so much of the real estate of Aaron Briggs late of Paris, deceased, as will reach the sum of three hundred dollars, if so much the be, for the payment of the last debts of said deceased and incidental charges.

Said real Estate consists of the deceased's right in equity to redeem the homestead of the deceased's right in equity in said Paris, containing about Eighty acres, it being mortgaged to Thomas Crocker for about six hundred and fifty dollars. Also his right to redeem fifteen acres of Lot No. 13, in the 9th Range in Paris, which he purchased of Samuel Briggs, and which is mortgaged to Eliza Merrill for about one hundred and thirty dollars. Terms of sale and more minute particulars are known at the time of sale.

ESTHEL BRIGGS, Adm'r.
Paris, April 14, 1835.

Caution.

WHEREAS the subscriber, on the 1st day of March last, contracted with the town of Andover in the County of Oxford, for the support and maintenance of the poor of said town, as Pauper of said town, and having made suitable provision for the same, this is to forbid all persons harboring or trusting him on his account as he will pay no debts of his contracting.

ERASTUS P. POOR.
Andover, April 10, 1835.

BENJAMIN FOBES

late of Peru, in the County of Oxford, deceased, by giving bond as the law directs—He therefore requests all persons who are indebted to the said deceased's estate to make immediate payment; and those who have any demands thereon, to exhibit the same to
CYRUS WORMELL.
Peru April 10th, 1835.

JOB WORK, NEATLY EXECUTED AT THIS OFFICE.

VOLUME

OXFORD
IS PRINTED AND
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TERMS—One dollar
One dollar & seventy
Two dollars at the en
No paper discounting
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There, as in solitude
Through the green
Awe'd by the silence

Your voiceless lips, o
Each cup a pulpit,
Supplying to my fan

Floral agonists! that
Weep without woe
O, may I deeply lea

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Far from all voice
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REPORT

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